693 books and studies on political economy, was in Hungary during the war. Became a non-party minister of Public Welfare on December 23, 1944 under the Provisional Debrecen Government, joined the Communist Party in 1945. 2. Neither Moscow-trained Communist, nor Nazi. 3. Not a Soviet citizen. 4. Has no black-book. 5. Does not play a leading role in the Communist Party. Exchanged his post of minister of Public Welfare for that of ambassador to Moscow in 1948. Became professor at the Budapest University in 1949; his book entitled "History of Hungarian society from the Árpád-epoch to Mohács" (Xth - XVth centuries) was strongly criticized by the party. Very well educated, speaks Russian, English, German, French and Hungarian, member of the Central Committee of the party." Former Minister of Justice.

643 NAGY, IMRE. Born in 1890. "Comes from a family of merchants, Jew, was graduated from high school. Took part in the revolution of 1919, emigrated to the Soviet Union, where he was trained in agrarian politics; returned to Hungary in 1945." A Moscow-trained Communist and Soviet citizen. Has no black-book, and is well versed in Marxism. Was Minister of Agriculture in 1945, and carried out the agrarian reform; Minister of the Interior in 1946, for a while university professor and speaker of the National Assembly, then Minister of Food.

In June, 1953, he took over the presidency of the Council of Ministers and instituted the less tough policies of the "New Course" on the Malenkov pattern. Ousted in 1955 as Prime Minister, he also lost his former seat on the Political Committee of the Communist Party. Speaks Hungarian, Russian and German. 643

OLT, KAROLY. Born in 1904. "1. Of middle-class origin, Christian, professor with university degree. Member of the radical Hungarian youth movement in the thirties. Joined the underground Communist movement in later years [1930]. Was imprisoned several times, was in Hungary during the war. 2. Neither Moscow-trained Communist, nor Nazi. 3. Not a Soviet citizen. 4. Has a political black-book. 4 [sic]. Home-educated Communist, but did not belong to the Rajk-group, so that in the beginning he hardly played any role, Intellectual, speaks Hungarian, German and French. Member of the Central Committee. [1947-1949: Minister of Welfare.] Minister of Finance since 1949. 645

PIROS, LASZLO. Minister of Interior. Born in 1917. Became after World War II Deputy Secretary of the Trade Union Council, then Major General and commander of the AVH, the Hungarian political police. Elected Alternate Member of the Political Committee of the Party in

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

178 altered the whole face of England, never came to Hungary at all until quite recently, and then it was on a much smaller scale than ours, since Hungary had neither the coalfields nor the shipping on which the English factories flourished. Thus Hungary is in many respects much more like England as it was a century or 150 years ago than England as it is to-day. It has, indeed, been changing very fast in the last generation, especially during the present war, but the very rapidity of the changes has left it with many very difficult and unsolved social problems.

642 **CONSTITUTIONAL MONARCHY.** Hungary is a constitutional monarchy, which in normal times possesses a king, a parliament and an extensive system of local government. The Crown is, as it were, in suspense at the present moment.

643 The last King of Hungary, Charles V, who was crowned in 1916, left the country in 1918 and, after two unsuccessful attempts to return to it, died in 1922. His eldest son, Otto, never entered Hungary. Hungarian constitutional tradition does not recognize the king as in full possession of his rights until the venerated Holy Crown has been placed on his brow. Moreover, the confused happenings which followed the last war enabled a party in the country to argue that the old agreement, under which the succession to the Crown belonged to the Habsburg family, had lapsed. Finally, both the Allied and Associated Powers and Hungary's neighbours insisted that they could not allow a Habsburg on the throne. Pending a settlement of the question, Admiral Horthy was elected Regent

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

in 1920, and has held that office ever since.[1] In practice, the Regent exercises nearly all the rights of a crowned king, except that of creating titles of nobility, and some special rights connected with the Roman Catholic Church, which are vested in the crowned king of Hungary. His son has, however, no claim to succeed him, and Horthy's elder son, who might have done so, was killed during the present war, in mysterious circumstances, while flying on the Russian front.

PARLIAMENT. The Hungarian Parliament consists of two Houses, of which the Upper House is composed in part of representative peers, in part of ex-officio members, such as the heads of the various Churches, in part of representatives elected by the Counties and by various bodies (Chambers of Commerce, Industry, etc.) and in part of members nominated by the Regent. The Lower House is elected, but on a system which has always left it very unrepresentative of any except the upper and middle classes. Since 1920 the franchise has been secret in the towns, but until the elections of 1939, it was open in the country districts; and when, for these elections (from which the last Parliament emerged) the secret ballot was made general, the franchise was restricted. Moreover, no elections were held in the districts 'reacquired' by Hungary after 1938; for these, Deputies were nominated by the Government.

[1] In law: in fact he was supplanted by the Arrow Cross leader Szálasi who, with Nazi support, seized power when Horthy had broadcast the news that he had appealed for an armistice, on 15 October 1944.

9: Eppstein S-4 (no date) 1945 EC1 Hungary EC1

verted by the Western Church nearly 1000 years ago, and ever after considered herself as standing under the special protection of Rome.

This tradition is still alive, even in politics. The Holy See concedes to the King of Hungary, who bears the title of Apostolic King, special rights which it claims for itself in other countries, and has exercised its influence in favour of Hungary on many occasions. In return, the Catholic Church enjoyed a specially privileged position in Hungary up to modern times; and, although all the chief Confessions are to-day nominally equal, the Catholic Church is recognized as the senior among them. There are three Roman Catholic Archbishops of Hungary—the Archbishops of Esztergom, Kalocsa and Eger. The first-named, who is in fact always made a Cardinal, is the head of the Roman Church, and one of the most important figures in the country, particularly when, like the present Benedictine Archbishop, Cardinal Seredi, he is a commanding personality.

The Hungarian Succession Law provides that the King of Hungary, as wearer of the Holy Crown, must always be a Catholic. The chief national festival is St Stephen's Day (20 August), and the most venerated of all the national relics is the Holy Crown. Next to it comes the Sacred Right Hand of St Stephen, which was found preserved, in a mummified condition, about a century after the Saint's death, and is carried in procession every St Stephen's Day through Budapest with a dazzling array of gold-broidered vestments, uniforms and traditional costumes.

The Church is one of the largest landowners and

6: Shuster S-4 (no date) 1954 El Europe
Hungary EC1

endeavoring to clamp the peasants into the vise of collective farming had created a movement of resistance which could no longer be curbed. Demands for return of the land that had been collectivized, together with farm animals, rose spontaneously from the farm folk everywhere in Hungary. Rákosi was removed from office, and Imre Nagy, a non-Communist, was restored to the office he had once held. On July 11 Nagy declared in a startling address that the collective farms would be dissolved if the majority of the peasants banded together on them so desired, and that their lands would thereupon be given back to them. It is true that men who took this proclamation literally often found themselves denounced as "kulaks" and enemies of the people. But a careful review of reports from those who have daily monitored official Hungarian broadcasts indicates clearly that the government, wedged in between the peasants' demand for liberation and the desperate need of the population for food, is far weaker than anyone would have deemed it to be a short time ago.

In the circumstances, it is safe to say that the average Hungarian recalls with grim irony the final speech delivered by Rákosi on May 10, during the "political campaign":

> Let us be vigilant in all fields . . . and ruthlessly take action against all who sabotage the building of our happier future. Our People's Democracy must incessantly watch for conspiracies, sabotage, and espionage activities which, without exception, are initiated, organized, and financed by the United States. Even now the United States is making so-called liberation promises which mean nothing save that it seeks to restore the rule of reactionary lords over the liberated Hungarian people.

Not even the United States could have so stirred the people of Hungary to reaffirm, despite terror and need, its traditional belief in freedom as the bulwark of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.